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Maharajah's father, doing menial out-door work. He was subsequently transferred to the service of the present Maharajah's maternal uncle and accompanied him to Lhassa where he spent three years in his service. At the end of that period his master was killed fighting against the Chinese, and in the same year the then reigning Maharajah died. Tempa returned to Gangtok and resumed service with the reigning Maharajah. Part of his service consisted in carrying letters and offerings to Talung monastery and bringing things back from thence. On his way to and from Talung he used to stop at Lingthem, in the house of Pumri, his present mother-in-law. Pumri and her husband had no surviving sons but only daughters, one of whom Tempa married; as is permissive in such cases Tempa did not take his wife home, but stayed in her house as *komok myok*, or resident son-in-law; thereby he became the heir of his wife's parents.

In character Tempa combines obsequiousness with domineering. Alone among the Lepchas of Lingthem he adopted a special voice, low and wheedling, when speaking to us Europeans; he despised us and thought we could be fooled by flattery, he tried to exploit us and to exploit others through our presence. If we went to the house of a third party when Tempa was present, he would assume all the rights and duties of host, elbowing the real host out of the way; he would offer the host's presents as if he were the giver, would fuss about and scold as if he had been appointed to look after our comfort, and would hand us over stones and ladders as if we were blind and infirm. He used to salaam and put his hands to his head whenever he met us, an action which has no place in Lepcha life; for very important personages Lepchas will unbraid their hair, but bowings and prostrations are uniquely reserved for the images of the lamaist gods. Tempa had a monomania about orphans, or else he thought it was a point to touch European compassion; nearly everybody he referred to, no matter what their age, was tearfully described as having no father and no mother; all other dead relations were also always named. Like Kurma, Tempa was always inclined to show himself as more influential than he was in fact, and insist that people had done certain things or followed certain courses at his advice or through his intervention. These claims were not always true.

When he was appointed Muktair the authority that he gained made him overweening and boastful and he used to threaten everybody who annoyed him, even, it is said, animals and inanimate

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objects. He is one of the very rare people in Lingthem who habitually hits animals. Finally, after he had been Muktair for about six months he assaulted with his stick old Takneum *youmi*, beating him after an argument about a matter of no importance. Immediately after this an agitation was started to get rid of him. The first person to make the discontent vocal was an old man of Tasso, in no way directly connected with either of the parties of the dispute. The Mandals of the five villages consulted together, and then each Mandal held meetings of all the adults where the matter was discussed in the greatest detail; these meetings were held in Lingthem monastery and at the houses of the different Mandals.

While these discussions were taking place, Tempa, though officially the superior of the Mandals, was forbidden by them to be present at any feasts or public gatherings either in the monastery or in private houses. Finally it was decided that so violent and irresponsible a man was unsuitable in a position of authority. A petition signed by all the householders of the district demanded that Tempa be removed from his office; they explained that he was using unjustifiable violence; they said that he was a stranger and did not know their ways; and they requested that the second office of Muktair be abolished and that the Muktair of Gyatong should in future administer their territory also. The Court granted their request, after which Tempa, reduced from all authority to the position of a private householder, was readmitted to the communal feasts and gatherings. No lasting animosity was displayed against Tempa but everybody knows the history and draws the moral: Tempa was angry, but being faced with complete unanimity he could do nothing. Today he is still angry with Takneum *youmi* and the two never visit each other on any occasion; they will, however, eat together in neutral places without quarrelling. This possibility of exclusion is the major Lepcha sanction; the person who is not allowed to feasts and who is not visited, who is in fact 'sent to Coventry' leads a very dull and lonely life; but more than that, if he is not allowed to help other people other people will not help him and it is hard to get through the agricultural and domestic work without help. Similar pressure, it is said, is brought to bear whenever anybody in authority, whether that authority be hereditary or through Court appointment, shows any tendency to abuse his position. It is a most effective control.

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property gain and no feud; at most somebody in the victim's family had at some time said something derogatory about Hlatam. Quarrelling is socially so strongly disapproved of that people of naturally aggressive temperament probably suffer from considerable psychological discomfort and get some relief from the thought of unrestrained aggression practised by somebody else. I have statements by nine people about Hlatam and her poison, for the subject was rather an uncomfortable one and could only be broached to people I knew well; the three most emphatic about her guilt were potentially aggressive in other ways; those who protested her innocence were themselves gentle. The motive of poison obtained from strangers—plainsmen or Nepali or Tibetans—crops up fairly often in anecdote and legend; but I never heard of the strong aconite arrow-poison, which nearly every man possesses, being employed for illegitimate purposes, though when men commit suicide they usually do so by taking it.

Theft is unusual; it practically never occurs from houses, which, if there is nobody at home, are usually padlocked; but this padlock is in point of fact more a social sign that the house is momentarily unoccupied, than a protection against possible entry. Sometimes indeed the padlock is fastened on to a thin loop of bamboo fibre which could be torn to pieces in the hand; and it would never be difficult to make an entry into a Lepcha house through the bamboo floor or walls. A few cases occurred about four years ago of cardamum fruit being stolen off the plants in the field, but there have been no instances of this in the last three years. If a theft is witnessed the robbed person goes and informs the Mandal who then consults with the *youmi*; then the Mandal and *youmi* go to the thief and try their utmost to persuade him to restore the stolen property; if he does so he is given a severe talking to and the incident is considered closed. Should he refuse, however, and should there be clear evidence against him, the matter would be reported to Gangtok; such a course is to be deplored and in fact has not occurred within recent years. If a child commits a theft the father has to insist on restitution and to give the child a severe beating as punishment.

To take even the smallest quantities of fruit or grain from other people's gardens or fields without obtaining permission is regarded as theft, and people would be ashamed of acting in this way, however hungry they might feel. A child who picked a fruit off a neighbour's tree would be severely punished.

There is no supernatural protection against thieves in the house

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627 it will be presumed that this is owing to the malevolent action of a supernatural, and exorcism will be resorted to.

It may happen, however, that the quarrel is of a more serious nature and consists of accusations and counter-accusations. Should such a quarrel break out there is a whole apparatus for patching it up without official notice being taken of it; should the Mandal hear of it in his official capacity, worse still should it go to the Court, it would be a terrible thing; there would be strict punishment and bad blood and that would be a slur on the community.

When a quarrel does break out the *gyapōn* will in the first instance go to both houses to find out the cause of the quarrel, and, if possible, to a third neutral person as witness. He talks diplomatically to both parties, softening each other's version of the incident; if he can make peace in this way all three will drink *chi* together and that is the end of the matter. If, however, the two parties persist in quarrelling (owing to a sense of injury) the *gyapōn* will instruct both parties to prepare *chi* and to have a certain sum of money ready—always considerably larger than what would actually be needed—in order to make the people realise the seriousness of their offence.

Chi takes about eight or nine days to be ready, and while it is brewing the *gyapōn* consults with the *youmi*; they then make another effort to compose the quarrel without calling in the Mandal. The three adjudicators take a statement from each party and then, unless the blame is obviously on one side, they call them together and threaten them that if they do not make peace, they will be very heavily fined (say Rs. 25 from each of them). The sum demanded is calculated to be beyond their reach, so that they beg the *youmi* and *gyapōn* not to proceed further; whereupon the *gyapōn* agrees to be contented with a much lesser sum, say Rs. 2/8 from each, or if they have no money, with a copper vessel or plate or anything of equivalent value. After that the two quarrellers and the three adjudicators eat and drink *chi* together; at the end of the feast the two quarrellers are given a wordy and imposing sermon on the duty of living amicably at peace one with another; at the end of the sermon the fines are returned and the whole matter is at an end.

627 578 In the last three years in Lingthem there have been two serious quarrels. Both of them centred round Mrs. Jiroong; she is Tempa's sister, like him a foreigner to Zongu; she is far more aggressive and has a far more active ego-feeling than the other local-born Lepcha women. The first quarrel was with the wife of the lama

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Datoop whom she accused of seducing her husband; they had two noisy and public quarrels in the guardian's house by the monastery, so that the Mandal was forced to interfere. Mrs. Datoop easily proved her innocence; as a punishment Mrs. Jiroong has been permanently forbidden to enter the monastery compound when feasts are in progress. This effectively cuts her off from the major community relaxations, and incidentally gives her hen-pecked husband, who is a lama and therefore has to be present, an opportunity to escape from her constant scoldings.

The second quarrel was of a more complicated nature; like the first, it represents an attitude towards sex which is completely alien to the Lepchas of Zongu. The facts are briefly as follows. Jiroong, the youngest son of a very poor family, was married by the Mandal to an old and childless widow (his first wife, since dead) so that he could inherit her property. His eldest brother had a son Tobgé who, on his father's death, gave up his old home, and went with his wife to go and live with his uncle and aunt. Mrs. Jiroong never liked Tobgé, whom she considered treated her without sufficient respect; so, to revenge herself, she persuaded Mrs. Tobgé to run away with a young married neighbour named Dadool. To forward the elopement she accompanied Mrs. Tobgé and Dadool on a visit to Mrs. Tobgé's parents who live on the far side of the Teesta beyond Zongu. After they had been absent three days the matter was reported to the *gyapön*. Before they could take any action however it was learned that Jiroong and Tempa had already gone in pursuit. On their arrival they asked what was the meaning of the escapade, to which the women replied that they had come to see Mrs. Tobgé's family. Tempa and Jiroong were furious at this reply, and, they said subsequently, felt that they could have killed Mrs. Tobgé, whom they considered irresponsible and of a bad character; but the girl had many 'brothers', and they undertook to be responsible for her and to send her home. Dadool returned separately. On their return the Mandal lectured the two young people and told them that they were to live quietly with their own spouses and to behave in future.

Since then Tobgé and Dadool have kept the peace and appear friendly enough; but the enmity between Tobgé and Mrs. Jiroong is stronger than ever, and there is no certainty that the affair will not flair up again. It is known that Dadool and Mrs. Tobgé are still sleeping together for they have been surprised in a field-house, but there is no way of telling if Tobgé himself knows of this.

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627 For a few days Dadool worked for us, fetching fire-wood and water. Jiroong's house is one of the nearest to the monastery.
● 578 One night, it was believed, Dadool did not return home, and in the morning his wife was not in the home either. Towards midday a a very serious deputation, headed by Mrs. Datoop and Kurma *gyaṗön* came and asked us to dismiss Dadool; the proximity of Jiroong's house, it was felt, put temptation in his way. The situation was discussed very seriously in low and distressed voices; it was not, as similar circumstances would probably be with us, a rather spicy piece of scandal—for the people involved were in no way directly related—but the threat of impending general unpleasantness. If Mrs. Dadool had gone to complain to her 'brothers' there would be a considerable upset; they would send their *bek-bu* (marriage go-between) to the Mandal, who had been Dadool's *bek-bu*, to say 'You persuaded us to consent to this marriage, and now see what has happened.' If this occurred the Mandal would have to inflict two fines of Rs. 5/– each on Mrs. Tobgé which she would have to pay to Mrs. Dadool, and Dadool would have to pay Rs. 5/– to Tobgé. Fortunately on this occasion their apprehensions were not realised; Dadool turned up in the afternoon with a reasonable account of how he had spent the previous evening; and later in the day his wife returned from Mangan, whither she had gone to buy cigarettes.

The whole situation is a good illustration of Lepcha attitudes. Normally sexual intercourse would not be the subject of serious conversation at all, though it might be joked about; and it seems probable that without Mrs. Jiroong's continual encouragement the affaire would have lapsed long ago, for Dadool appears fond of his wife and contented. But a quarrel or dispute is a menace to everybody's happiness; half the pleasure is lost from a feast if there is a feeling of discomfort in the air. For the Lepchas quarrelling is not natural or inevitable, but a deplorable accident which it is everybody's business to stop.

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tively Sakya Muni, Guru Rimpuché (beloved teacher), or Tashey-*thing* has been equated with Tak-bo-*thing*, in Mun theology the first man and the first hero, the grandson of Itpomu, the Creative Mother, and the two change places in mythology, according to the preference of the speaker, even in stories quite unsuitable to lamaist ethics (for example in the stories of the origin of eating fish and pork, where the hero kills the original fish- or pig-devil). And the confusion does not end there; after Tak-bo-*thing* and Tashey-*thing* have been telescoped into one person they are again separated into two with two simultaneous births in different places: the Mun hero is said to have been born underground at the same moment as the lamaist saint was born in heaven.

These confusions however are more obvious to the analytical European than to the practising Lepcha. With the exception of the crucial point of killing animals the Lepchas do not appear to be conscious of the implied contradictions; and the lamas through their education in the scriptures and through the casting of horoscopes have already such a training in sophistry that they almost automatically reconcile any implicit contraditions. In by far the greater number of ceremonies for private individuals Mun and lamas perform simultaneously contradictory rites for identical ends, with the Mun usually in the 'kitchen' and the lamas in the 'parlour.' Inside the monastery precincts Mun are never allowed to practise; but in a number of the calendrical festivals on 'neutral' ground the two perform side by side. Only for one private ceremony are the Mun entirely excluded; they can take no part at all in the funeral ceremonies of a lama. On the other hand the Mun have the speciality of most of the ceremonies connected with crops and hunting and some apotropaic rites.

Theoretically there is no quarrel between the two religions, but there is a certain veiled rivalry between their priests. The lamas accuse the Mun of using their supernatural powers for unworthy private ends, for instance killing magically the spouses of people they desire so as to be able to enjoy them without interruption, and the Mun accuse the lamas of being more sensual than the average man, more dependent on constant sexual intercourse and drink; abstention is possible for the layman, intolerable for the lama. As far as drink is concerned I think the charge is justified; the amount of *chi* consumed by lamas is incalculable. As soon as they settle down for a ceremony a *patyoot* is placed beside them, and constantly refilled and renewed; the chanting—and lamaist

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ceremonies may last anything from six hours to as many days—is thirsty work; and in the latter half of the services the officiants are seldom quite sober. These charges are never made openly or by one priest to another; in public they are quite amicable, though they usually affect to ignore the other's presence and performance.

The mythological justification for this amity between the two religions is that the patron spirits are husband and wife: the lamaist Tashey-*thing* is the husband, and the Mun (always a female spirit) the wife. For this reason, it is said, the lamas are stronger, and especially have more influence with the gods; the Mun on the other hand are perhaps more competent to deal with devils.

This attitude towards husband and wife, in which the husband is considered automatically the more powerful, is in itself probably a Tibetan import. For the Mun spirit has also another husband in the Padem (or Bum-*thing*); this latter resembles the Mun save that only men are possessed by it; a Padem is far less powerful than a Mun, and for many men this possession is the first step towards becoming a Mun. In the case of this supernatural husband and wife it is explained that the Mun is the more powerful because she is the wife; and this is far more congruent with the specific Mun mythology in which the female supernaturals are almost always the most important.

It would require far more knowledge than is at present available to be able to state definitely of the Lepcha folk-lore what elements are indigenous, what borrowed from Tibet, and what from other neighbouring tribes. My impression is that by far the greater number of stories told in Zongu, though many have foreign accretions, are of domestic origin. I only heard specifically Tibetan-lamaist stories from pious lamas, and by no means always from them.

ii

It is said that lamaism was introduced into Sikkim in or near 1641, the date of accession of the first lamaist king Penchoo Namgyé. He is said to have been made king by three lamas of the Nyingma-pa or 'Red Hat' sect, the unreformed branch of lamaism; these three lamas were fugitives from Tibet, following the violent struggles between the Yellow Hats and Red Hats and possibly Chinese or Mongolian intervention.

I have not been able to find any conclusive evidence as to the date of the conversion of the Lepchas to lamaism, or of their admission

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Quarrelling is caused by a trinity of three devils Soo-*moong* (enmity of speech), Gé-*moong* (enmity of thought) and Thor-*moong* (enmity of action). To prevent quarrelling this trinity Soo-gé-thor is symbolically destroyed once a year in the monastery in the month of November; the ceremony is called *Thorsu*; every person of the village should be present; those who are unable to come should send gifts and crops instead.

First of all a very large image of the supernatural Thorgyop *rum* is made and at the four corners are placed containers, one filled with blood mixed with poison, one with milk, and two with *chi*. Somewhat in front of this is made a smaller image of Soo-gé-thor and in front of that is an unshaped heap of earth (the other images are also made of mud) with an egg on top so arranged that the egg is opposite the demon's heart. The demon is three-sided with images made of butter impressed with a wooden printing block[7] on each side. By the egg stands an archer with a bow and arrow ready. First of all the god is invoked and when he is considered to be present the lama says in Tibetan 'we are giving your life into the hands of a cruel man'. After this the devil is invoked and when it is thought to be present in the image the archer will shoot an arrow in such a way that it pierces simultaneously the egg and the heart. This is repeated three times with different eggs.

Another image is made of Soo-gé-thor, this time recumbent and with open mouth and arms. He is summoned from wherever he may be, whether he is in the skies or on the earth or under the earth; when the devil has entered the image it is hacked into small pieces and offered to the god mixed with poison and blood; then these pieces together with pieces of paper inscribed with the devil's name are rammed into a hollow bamboo which is covered with a thick cloth and put among the firewood under an iron griddle and set fire to. After this the lamas again read from the scriptures.

Finally a third image called Sor-so-mu is made; this is a three-sided pointed lump of mud smeared with blood and stamped on each side in butter with the name of the devils and their effigy. The lama after long prayers holds this pyramid above his head and throws it forward; the direction that the pointed end turns to

[7] A number of engraved blocks with representations of different supernaturals are kept in the monastery for use as circumstances require. The most generally employed is the *lo-kor*, the representations of the patron supernaturals of the twelve year 'animal' cycle.

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and isolating irrelevant and unintegrated attitudes comes I think from indifference and not from scepticism. A comparison might be found in the way Occidentals under the orders of doctors will accept temporary but profound modifications of their habits or diet without considering that their former habits were wrong or that others should follow them; they give up meat for example because the doctor says that for the moment it will disagree with them, not because they have become convinced vegetarians. The Lepchas are not sceptical about various methods of dealing with the supernatural, but their belief has no intensity or rigidity. It is possible that before their conversion to lamaism the Lepchas felt more strongly that they possessed the only correct way of dealing with the supernatural; but now that they have accepted the idea that there are two alternative methods for dealing with nearly every devil they can accept without difficulty further alien methods founded on similar hypotheses. It is worth remembering also that religious rituals are only performed by a very small part of the population—by the lamas and Mun; the lay population merely summon them when they think they need their services and provide the raw materials from which the lamas will fashion the religious objects. The vast majority of Lepchas never perform any religious rites (beyond perhaps turning a prayer wheel and prostrating themselves before the lamaist images); religion with the Lepchas is the occupation of a minority of specialists.

Within limits the Lepchas are also extremely tolerant of individual variations in temperament. They are adamant in resisting any encroachment on their individual and group independence, and they will not permit overt aggression or ambition, or the sidestepping of communal duties; but provided a person fulfils his private and public obligations, keeps the peace, and does not seek to impose on or exploit others, or to go counter to the rules of the society, he is permitted considerable latitude. The Lepchas insist on very considerable social conformity; but if an individual carries out his social obligations adequately and does not seek to interfere with or destroy the privacy and independence of others, others will also respect his privacy and independence. The Lepchas so dislike being ordered about, that even on construction jobs which could be quicker and more efficiently performed with a director of operations, they insist on working independently, and appear to ignore anybody who tries to give orders.

This antithetic emphasis on social conformity and individualism

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produces the result that most Lepchas have two types of behaviour; they are far more restrained in public and with strangers than they are in the privacy of their own homes. I was naturally never able to observe this, but in people's stories of their own lives there was a constant undercurrent of grumbling and scolding, particularly on the part of the women.[8] Sometimes these undercurrents came fairly near the surface in public in the guise of playful teasing. Public quarrelling of any sort is so violently disapproved of that even minor irritations and annoyances have to be repressed in public; in the home there is not the same social restraint and I have the impression that the majority of wives are given to nagging on occasion. It must be remembered that most wives are strangers to their husband's community and therefore lack the moral and emotional support of their families which is always available for the majority of the men.

The pace of Lepcha life is very leisurely; the Lepchas are never in a hurry. When they are doing something, be it work or pleasure, they like to do it thoroughly. With work as with pleasure there is no hurry or greed; everything gets done eventually, but it gets done slowly, with intervals of rest in between. The Lepchas never seem to mind waiting; often after everybody has gathered for a religious ceremony there will be a delay of several hours, while the lamas prepare the ritual objects; nobody objects to this or thinks to hurry another up; they are content to sit and wait until everything is ready. When a piece of communal work such as the repairing of a house or the building of a bridge is in progress only about half the people present are likely to be working at any one time; the others will be taking a rest, or joking, or helping to prepare the evening meal. The Lepchas work very long hours and do not grudge their labour; but they detest being ordered about and see no sense in hurry; work is a disagreeable necessity which should be made as pleasant as possible. A few state that they feel happiest after a good day's work; but for the majority the reason for work is to provide for the sensual pleasures which form the chief object of life.

Although Lepchas do not allow for quarrelling they admit bad temper to be natural, particularly if a person is hungry or if he is finding difficulties in his work. The expression of bad temper is stylised; it is called *shadong ding* and is externalised by the annoyed person breaking any of his own property which comes to hand, or

[8] Numerous examples of this occur in Book Three.

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one of the demons of quarrels. To get rid of Tumsi a paper must be prepared with its picture stamped upon it. This is to be surrounded by thirteen crossed sticks, representing arrows, since this Mung also causes wars.

After dreaming of a red ox the patient will sweat profusely, and may also have pain in the legs. She should not keep pigs; nor should she buy any blue-coloured cloth. She must buy neither goat nor ox; nor must she sit near a big tree. The flesh of red oxen must be eschewed.

There is also trouble from Hlamin Jimen, who is a god when pleased and a demon when angry. This has imprisoned the patient's soul and put a fence round it, so that for the time being it is not free to wander. The soul is at present living in some place that is neither heaven nor earth, but is between the two. This trouble has come from some other person's enmity, and was probably caused by domestic animals straying into that person's fields and damaging the crops. A death of some sort is indicated; but it will not necessarily be the patient herself. The remedy for this particular difficulty is the carrying out of the *Deut Shagyur Kyok* ceremony. The patient also appears to be restless and cannot bear the smell of high meat; but this can be easily put right by means of the *Chimbu Klong* ceremony.

It is advisable also to carry out the *Dembu Sun* ceremony as soon as possible or the patient may become seriously ill. A good harvest is indicated and the family will be prosperous.

A cause of minor trouble is the antagonism existing between the "year-signs" of husband and wife. For this reason there is, for instance, trouble from Chumen Mung and Leut Dusain. Matsong Rum and Leut Sabdong may also cause some worry. The patient is likely to dream of a broken-down house and a stream: also she may suffer from vomiting. She should not use black thread; neither should she wear any black clothing or purchase anything black. She should take no food offered by people who live at a distance, even though they be her relatives. It is advisable to arrange for Lamas to read the *Tuncheu* as soon as

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Gyatso; but such is not the case. As it happens, everything has turned out for the best, and Rigiya and his wife are living happily together. It should be noted that, technically speaking, he might be said to have married his younger brother's wife, thus contracting an incestuous alliance. It should be remembered, however, that the girl was first married to his elder brother, so that from a legal point of view he is held to have married his elder and not his younger brother's wife.

Cheli, aged ten, is the grandson of old Kahlyeu by his second wife. His father died when he was a baby, whereupon his mother remarried almost at once and went to live in some other village, leaving him to the care of his grandfather. Kahlyeu also had a son by his first wife. He too died young, leaving a son who himself died a few years later, having married just before. The widow, who is now fourteen, is the *Oong-op* of Cheli. In case this seems unduly complicated I should add that Cheli has inherited the widow of his deceased (classificatory) elder brother, since both are the grandchildren of the same man. The pair are not at present living together, since Cheli is not yet old enough to co-operate. It is thought, however, that in a couple of years' time he will be able to fulfil his duties as a husband, after which he will bring the girl to his grandfather's home. In the meantime she is living with her mother in a distant village and he goes to spend a few days with her from time to time. No marriage ceremony will be necessary.

* * * * *

It must be obvious to anyone who has read so far that in a society with the sexual promiscuity permitted by the Lepchas there can be no room for jealousy, if the people are to live in harmony. In a recent article in *The New Statesman and Nation* (June 26th 1937) Dr. Harry Roberts discusses this very subject:

"So far as people who æsthetically and intellectually matter are concerned," he writes, "the two great causes of marital failure are boredom and jealousy; and the greatest of

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these is jealousy. The first thing to determine is the biological status of jealousy. Is it an inherent, instinctive, irremovable impulse of the normal healthy human mind? Or is it the fruit of a convention which can be changed? No change in convention is going to remove the hunger problem, or even the more sublimable sex problem. Does jealousy rank with these? The answer is, yes and no. I believe that nine-tenths of all jealousy manifested by wives and by husbands and by lovers is but a conventional perversion of the instinct of fear; and this fear arises from the taking for granted of the monogamic tradition, as though it were in accordance with instinct and with right. Yet monogamy, except during those short periods of 'being in love,' is, for live people, the merest convention."

Having myself grown up in a culture in which jealousy is closely connected with sex and marriage I found it difficult at first to realise that this feeling is definitely not "an inherent, instinctive, irremovable impulse of the normal healthy mind." And yet there is little doubt that this is the case. It may be argued that the evidence from a single primitive tribe is no evidence at all, but this is tantamount to saying that ethnology has no practical value. It should be remembered, however, that since our own society has grown so complicated it is only in the examination of primitive peoples that we have any suitable laboratory material for the study of these urgent social problems. Most so-called primitive societies live relatively simple and uncomplicated lives; and by confining ourselves to a small and self-contained community it is still possible to watch the behaviour of the individual in the group, and, conversely, to see what reaction the group has on him.

578 It would not be difficult to make out a case proving that 152 jealousy is inherent in any capitalist society. It is true that the Lepchas are a good example of primitive socialism, but we are here not concerned with that side of the question. The point is that these people have realised that in the conditions in which they live sexual jealousy would make life

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intolerable, and in the course of countless generations they have so conditioned their feelings that this particular emotion never arises: or if it really is an inherent instinct, then they have sublimated it to such an extent that it causes no psychological disturbance.

Although the question of sexual jealousy hardly arises, it would be absurd to suppose that any man, even a Lepcha, is completely indifferent to his wife's promiscuity. For this reason, in Chodu's words: "It is better to copulate with one's sister-in-law out in the forest, because there is no privacy in the home. Out in the forest it is possible to be more passionate, whereas in the presence of others a certain amount of restraint must be exercised." An elder brother will be angry if he actually sees his younger brother copulating with his wife, and will say some such thing as: "Look here, you should not do that sort of thing with my wife while I'm about, and certainly not in my presence"; but apart from this he will take no action.

It is said that when a man habitually sleeps with his elder brother's wife the latter is liable to suffer from stomach-ache and diarrhœa, especially towards the end of each Tibetan month. When a man has pains of this sort he will naturally suspect his wife, but there is really little that he can do. He may suggest to his wife that she breaks off relations with his brother, or can ask her to obtain a piece of his clothing. If he wears this himself, in the form of a charm, it will be found that the pair will cease to be interested in one another and in course of time will give up sleeping together. It should be clearly noted, however, that the object of this is to cure the elder brother's stomach-ache and not to stop the woman having sexual relations with her husband's brother, to which no objection is taken.

It is an understood thing that most normal men do have relations with their elder brothers' wives from time to time, and while the subject is not generally discussed among brothers no one would make any attempt to deny the fact if asked; not because there is any question of jealousy arising,

2: Morris T-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

835 but because the matter is of such ordinary occurrence as not to merit discussion. With regard to affairs outside the immediate family circle slightly more circumspection is necessary; but only then in the case of a young unmarried girl. Tobgay, for instance, was well aware that his wife was carrying on an affair with Dadool, in spite of the fact that the latter already had a wife of his own. In this particular case the affair was being prosecuted actually inside the house, and sometimes in Tobgay's presence; but, as he himself said: "It is not good manners to pay attention to what goes on in the room once the lights have been put out." In any case he was himself in the habit of visiting other girls in the village.

578 152a I hope that I have now made it clear that among the Lepchas sexual jealousy does not exist. During our stay in Lingtem there was not the slightest sign of a quarrel over a woman, and the people thought it laughable that such a thing could happen. There is, however, another side to the question and, from our point of view, rather an important one. It is this: is it possible for real love to exist in a society which has completely sublimated sexual jealousy? I do not think it is. A distinction must, however, be drawn between "loving" and "being in love." Most people will agree with Dr. Roberts that "all of us who have passed through the first three or four decades of our life must have found by personal experience, first of all, that 'being in love' is the most exalted of human experiences; secondly, that this period of exaltation is limited in time—lasting, it may be for a few weeks, it may be for a few months, but rarely extending into years. Loving is one thing; 'being in love' is another. The latter is characterised by exclusiveness—exclusive individual devotion, on the one hand, and a desire for exclusive 'possession' on the other; so that it is hardly possible for any but the most complacent to be passionately in love without experiencing many painful pangs of jealousy. It is the essential insecurity of the relation that explains the hunger for the security and permanence which exclusive possession alone seems to promise."

4:Nebesky-Wojkowitz E-5 (1950-1951)1952
AK5 Lepcha AK5

and then somebody of those present leaves the room immediately to search at the spot now indicated; he mostly returns within a short time with the missing objects.

While the family property is being inherited according to the old Lepcha law, the personal belongings of the dead are distributed among his closer relatives. This is usually carried out by the *Mŭn*, while still possessed by the *Mŭk nyam*. But not always is this way of dividing the heritage regarded as just, and it frequently leads to quarrels.

At the end of this ceremony, a food offering is made to the dead. A cup with some water is handed to the *Mŭn*,—who still remains in the trance —and she sprinkles some of the water on all the food which had been placed in front of her, thus making it "eatable for the deceased". Then all the members of the family step forward one by one and present a dish with food to the spirit and burn also some incense, together with traces of food, and a container filled with Lepcha beer is given to the *Mŭn* to drink. Shortly after this offering the *Mŭk nyam* leaves the body of the *Mŭn*, who soon returns to full consciousness, and then removes the rope from her left hand. Some of the Lepchas claim, that when the *Mŭn* begins to complain of pain—usually in a part of her body, corresponding to those limbs and organs of the deceased, which had been affected by the deadly illness or accident —it has to be regarded as a reliable sign, that the *Mŭk nyam* is about to leave the medium.

After a short interval, the *Mŭn* ties again the rope to her left hand and goes into a light trance, in order to guide the spirit of the dead to the other world. On the way to the *Rŭm lyang*, an obstacle called *Lep*, which is imagined to be like a tremendous waterfall or a deep precipice, has to be crossed by the *Mŭk nyam* with the assistance of the *Mŭn*. Having overcome this barrier, the spirit is met by *The kung tek*,[16] the first *Bong thing*, and his wife *Ne kung ngal*, the first *Mŭn*. They will enumerate to the deceased the line of his ancestors, mentioning on the seventh place the name of the mountain, with which his clan believes itself to be connected,[17] and then they accompany the spirit, to meet *Fă grŏng thing* and *Nă zŏng nyo*, the ancestors of the Lepchas. In the *Rŭm lyang* the spirits of all, who had died in more recent times, dwell in the form of shadows, while those who died soon after the world had been created, reside here in their bodily form, ready to return to the world should its inhabitants die out.

There are different accounts to be found among the various clans of the Lepchas regarding the way in which the *Mŭk nyam* is supposed to reach the *Rŭm lyang*. The Chronicles of the Maharajas of Sikkim mention a belief of the Sengdenmos, that the spirit goes to

7: Hooker D-5 (1849-1851) 1854
AK5 Lepcha AK5

181 his share, coming up and giving the donor a brusque bow and thanks. They have learnt to overcharge already, and
439 use extortion in dealing, as is the custom with the people of the plains; but it is clumsily done, and never accompanied with the grasping air and insufferable whine of the
411 latter. They are constantly armed with a long, heavy,
●578 straight knife,* but never draw it on one another: family and political feuds are alike unheard of amongst them.

181 The Lepcha is in morals far superior to his Tibet and
595 Bhotan neighbours, polyandry being unknown, and polygamy rare. This is no doubt greatly due to the conventual system not being carried to such an excess as in Bhotan, where the ties of relationship even are disregarded.

291 Like the New Zealander, Tasmanian, Fuegian, and natives of other climates, which, though cold, are moist and equable, the Lepcha's dress is very scanty, and when we are wearing woollen under-garments and hose, he is content with one cotton vesture, which is loosely thrown round the body, leaving one or both arms free; it reaches to the knee, and is gathered round the waist: its fabric is close, the ground colour white, ornamented with longitudinal blue stripes, two or three fingers broad, prettily worked with red and white. When new and clean, this garb is remarkably handsome and gay, but not showy. In cold weather an upper garment with loose sleeves is added.

411 A long knife, with a common wooden handle, hangs by
291 the side, stuck in a sheath; he has often also a quiver of poisoned arrows and a bamboo† bow across his back. On his right wrist is a curious wooden guard for the

* It is called "Ban," and serves equally for plough, toothpick, table-knife, hatchet, hammer, and sword.

[439] † The bamboo, of which the quiver is made, is thin and light: it is brought from Assam, and called Tulda, or Dulwa, by the Bengalees.